L'Ombre du feu Cardinal:

OR,

Cardinal *FLEURY*'s GHOST.

Tranſlated from the ORIGINAL *French* MANUSCRIPT of the *Abbè de V— —*; Formerly One of His EMINENCY's Domeſticks:

AND

Now a State-Priſoner in the Baſtille, *at PARIS.*

Enter'd according to the Acts of Parliament.

LONDON,

Printed, and Sold by J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*; B. MILLES, in *Houndſditch*, near *Biſhopſgate*; and the Booksellers of *London* and *Weſtminſter*. MDCCXLIII.

[Price One Shilling.]

L'Ombre du Jeune Cardinal:

OR,

Cardinal FLEURY's

GHOST.

Translated from the ORIGINAL French
MANUSCRIPT [illegible]
Formerly [illegible] TURENNE's
Dauphin [illegible]

More [illegible] Printer in the Bastille,
at PARIS.

Entered according to the Act of Parliament.

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Printed, and Sold by J. Roberts, in Warwick-
court, Holborn; E. Matthews, [illegible]
Pall-Mall; and the Booksellers of
London and Westminster. MDCCXLII.

[Price One Shilling.]

THE PREFACE.

THE unfortunate Author of these Sheets, having been particularly honour'd with the CARDINAL's Favour, and Protection, became after his Patron's Death, obnoxious to the *French* Ministry: To avoid the fatal Consequences of their Hatred, and the Persecutions he was daily

ly

ly expos'd to, he thought fit to retire to *Strasburg*; from whence he was soon brought back, by Virtue of a *Lettre de Cachet*, and confin'd in the *Bastille*, for Libelling the Government. The Officer of the Guards, who was sent to apprehend him, found in his Closet two Manuscript Copies of the following Pamphlet; one of which he seal'd up with the rest of his Papers, according to his Instructions, in order to be presented to the Council Board, and the other to be kept by him, as a scarce Piece, which none but he, and the Ministry

ſtry cou'd boaſt of poſſeſſing. This Gentleman being ſoon after engag'd in an unlucky Affair, which oblig'd him to fly the Kingdom, came over into *England*, where I knew him, and got a Sight of this Manuſcript. A more publick ſpirited Motive, than that which engag'd him to ſecret it, at the ſiezing of the *Abbe de V*-----'s Papers, made me very earneſt to deſire to carry it Home, in order to peruſe it at Leiſure; a Favour which I obtain'd with much Difficulty, but not without a Promiſe made to the Owner, not to tranſcribe, or take a

Copy

Copy of it. As no Mention was made of a Tranſlation, I thought I cou'd with a ſafe Conſcience, and without falling under the Imputation of not keeping my Word, give *L'Ombre du feu Cardinal* an *Engliſh* Dreſs; and oblige the Publick with a Performance, which, without this Kind of Theft, wou'd, perhaps, have never ſeen the Light.

Car-

Cardinal *FLEURY*'s GHOST.

ON the 13th of *Auguſt*, whilſt his Eminency, Cardinal *Tencin* was alone in his Cabinet, reading ſome Diſpatches from *Monſieur De Lamarie*, His Majeſty's Embaſſador at *Stockholm*, and very deeply engag'd in Thought; he was awaken'd out of his Political Meditation, by a ſudden ſhrill Whiſtling behind his Back. On turning about to the Side, from whence the Noiſe ſeem'd to come, he

perceiv'd a Figure, reſembling the *Late Cardinal* ſitting in his Arm Chair. So unexpected a Sight, which the greateſt Courage, and Intrepidity wou'd not have been Proof againſt, ſtruck ſuch a Panick in his Eminency, that it depriv'd him, in a Moment, of all his Preſence of Mind, and of the Uſe of his Reaſon. He remain'd motionleſs, and rivetted to his Chair, for a conſiderable Space of Time, loſt in Amazement and Surpriſe; till by an Effect of that Fear, which is always uppermoſt in a guilty Mind, he roſe from his Seat; after bleſſing, and croſſing himſelf, he retir'd to a Corner of the Room, between his Deſk and the Window, where he entrench'd himſelf with his Chair, which he drew before him. In this new rais'd Fort he fell upon his Knees, reciting the *Litanies* of the *Bleſſed Virgin*, with more Zeal and

Fer-

Fervour, perhaps, than he had ever done before in all his Life. The *Apparition* ſeem'd little to regard his Eminency's Devotion, but look'd ſternly on him all the While, and ſeem'd to move its pale Lips, intimating a Deſire of entering upon a Diſcourſe with him. The *Cardinal*, who, by this Time, was recover'd from his firſt Surpriſe, and began to be more familiariz'd to the Sight, calling to his Aſſiſtance all the Courage and Reſolution, he was Maſter of, ventur'd at laſt, tho' ſtill with a faultring Voice, and trembling in every Joint, to conjure it, by Virtue of his *Apoſtolical Power*, to declare *Who he was? Whence he came? What he wanted?* and *Why he haunted him thus?* At this the *Ghoſt*, after expreſſing his Surpriſe, that his Eminency ſhou'd have ſo ſoon forgot him, *told him*, He was the reſtleſs un-

happy Shade of the late *Cardinal Fleury*; *That* His Buſineſs was to diſcloſe ſeveral Things, that lay heavy upon his Mind, and diſturb'd his Reſt; *That* Ever ſince he left the World, he had conſtantly hover'd about him, and tho' preſent at all his moſt private Tranſactions, had never, till then, obtain'd Leave to appear to him in a viſible Form. *Your Eminence*, cry'd *Tencin*, ſomething more reſolutely, *might have ſpar'd yourſelf this Trouble*; *for I can aſſure you, I cou'd have very well diſpens'd with this Viſit. You, and I have never been on ſuch good Terms, as ſhou'd put you under any Obligation, of continuing a Correſpondence with me beyond the Grave*; *and believe me this once, that I ſhou'd be more oblig'd to you for your Abſence, than for your Company.*

Card. Fleury. Perhaps, Sir, 'tis that very Conſideration, that brings me here at preſent. So much, at leaſt, I may tell you, that was you leſs my Enemy, or had you more Veneration for my Memory, 'tis not likely there wou'd have been any Need for my interrupting your Meditation. Had my Shade been quiet, and unmoleſted, meer Curioſity cou'd not have been ſtrong enough, to oblige me to viſit again this *Vale of Miſery.* Life has no Charms powerful enough, to engage a happy departed Soul to loſe one Moment's Repoſe, for intermeddling with ſublunary Things.

Card. Tencin. *Very well, good Mr.* Cardinal; *then pray let the Living alone. I'll warrant you, they will never be too ready to take a Trip to your Manſions, or fond of ſeeing you amongſt them. If you*

have

have more leiſure Hours, than you know well how to employ, and if you muſt needs be dabbling in Politicks ſtill, you can't want for Company below. Richelieu, *and* Mazarin *will be more oblig'd to you for an Hour's Chat, than your humble Servant* Cardinal Tencin; *and therefore your Eminence muſt excuſe me if* ------

Card. Fleury. Nay, at your Peril don't venture to ring, or ſtir a Foot. --- My Buſineſs is with you at preſent. I charge you to hear what I am going to ſay, without making any Noiſe; or upon the Word of a Ghoſt, you will pay dear for your Imprudence.

Card. Tencin, *Since you go that Way to work, I muſt ſubmit indeed.* ----- *Let me only beg of your Eminence to be us expeditious as poſſible. I am upon* Buſineſs of Importance, *and have no Time to loſe.*

Card.

Card. Fleury. How happy wou'd it be for the King's Affairs, that you had not this Excuſe to make. *Buſineſs of Importance* will never proſper in your Hands, and no Man is more unfit for it, than your Eminence. From the Courſe you take, and the Meaſures you are purſuing, nothing but Ruin and Deſtruction to the whole Kingdom, muſt be the inevitable Conſequences. Provided you can but gratify your implacable Hatred to my Memory, you don't care what Lengths you run into. The Plan, the right Execution of which had render'd the Management of the publick Affairs ſo proſperous in my Hands for many Years, and which a long Experience had convinc'd me, was the only One adapted to the true Intereſt of our Country, is now laid aſide, meerly becauſe it ow'd its Birth to me. So great is your

De-

Deteſtation for whatever I have been concern'd in! Yet had you found out any other Method as good, and as advantageous, I ſhou'd not have thought it worth my While to take up the Cudgels in my own private Defence. Had the Affairs of the Nation continu'd to proſper, I ſhou'd not have troubl'd my my Head with the Means, whereby its Happineſs was effected, or to whom it was indebted for it.---- But alas! How well is the Honour, and Glory of poor *France* ſupported, under your Adminiſtration? Or rather how wretched, and how deſpicable have not your new Meaſures already render'd it?

Card. Tencin. *I ſhall never be the readier to believe a Thing, for your Eminency's bare affirming it. I have the King's, and the Nation's Honour as much*

at

at Heart, as any French-man *has, or ever had. I am very well ſatisfy'd with the Advantages of my Schemes, and I don't doubt their being ſoon crown'd with Succeſs.* France *may be a little ſtreighten'd at preſent; but, indeed, 'tis intirely owing to your Adminiſtration. That Syſtem of Politicks you ſeem to be ſo fond of, and which you follow'd for ſo many Years, is the true, and only Cauſe of it; but you had the good Fortune to be taken out of the World, before the Effects were yet felt; and now, we, who ſupply your Place, muſt take upon us all the Blame of your ill Conduct. As for mine, Sir, I am not afraid to ſay, it is ſuch, as the Kingdom muſt reap the Benefit of it, in a ſhort Time.*

Card. Fleury. Believe me, *Cardinal*, you was never more miſtaken in all your

Life-time. And yet that's Advancing a great Deal; for ſure no Body was ever guilty of more *Blunders*, or of falling into *groſſer Miſtakes*. Excuſe me, if I deal plainly, and call Things by their proper Names. I can't flatter at preſent, and was my Condition to allow me to uſe Expreſſions, that might pleaſe you better, your Caſe, and the dangerous Way you are in, admit of no lenitive Remedies.

Card. Tencin. *You have then alter'd your Principles indeed! For upon my Word, no Body ever knew better than your Eminence, how to cut an Enemy's Throat with a Feather. Experience has but too well convinc'd me of it: And 'tis not ſo long ſince I was ſent packing back to my Archbiſhoprick, for only offering my humble Advice to my Superiours, but that I can very*

very well remember the Perſon, to whom I was beholden for that Mortification.

Card. Fleury. How much you are oblig'd to that Perſon, I ſhall not take upon me to decide; but the Kingdom, however, wou'd have been beholden to him, for the greateſt Happineſs, a Man cou'd procure to his Country, had he then put it intirely out of your Power ever to riſe again; or to meddle with the publick Affairs. The greateſt Reproach of Conſcience, I now labour under, proceeds from my yielding to your Friend's Solicitations, for your Embaſſy to *Rome*; where by obtaining the Hat, at the *Chevalier*'s Nomination, you grew aſpiring at once, forgot your late unſucceſsful Attempt, and dar'd, under Cover of the *Roman* Purple, ſet yourſelf in Oppoſition to the *Moſt Chriſtian King's* Prime Miniſter.

Card. Tencin. *You may add, and almoſt jocky'd him out of the Saddle too.*

Card. Fleury. That's an Advantage, you ought not to be too proud of. The Means you employ'd to ingratiate yourſelf in our Maſter's Favour, don't redound very much to your Honour: And all your Attempts might have prov'd very fruitleſs, had not *Women* and *Punch* grown of late ſo much in Faſhion at our Court.

Card. Tencin. *You might have ſpar'd your Reflections, on the Means made uſe of by Stateſmen, to monopolize a Prince's Favour. No Doubt, if the Truth was known, it wou'd not much become the Biſhop of* Frejus *, *to boaſt of the Manner*

* This was Card. FLEURY's Title, before his Promotion to the Hat.

ner, in which he got the Start of the Duke de B------, *and the reſt of the Council.*

Card. Fleury. Be that as it will, I don't think myſelf oblig'd to ſatisfy your Curioſity. To return then to the main Point -------- 'Tis very likely, I ſhou'd not have been unwilling, to let you even obtain that Advantage over me; and perhaps, wou'd have very quietly reſign'd my Place, had I thought the King's Affairs cou'd have been ſafe in your Hands; or had I ſeen you inclin'd to purſue the True Intereſt of *France*. A Perſon of my Age might well be ſuppos'd to be weary of Buſineſs, and deſirous of ſome Reſpite, before he paid his laſt unavoidable Debt to Nature: And I can aſſure you with the utmoſt Verity, that thoſe were my real Sentiments. Had the *Lieutenant*

de

Police †, instead of the ‖ *Archbishop of Lyons* made that Push, I shou'd have been the first to congratulate my Country-men on so happy an Event, and shou'd have launch'd very contentedly out of the World, with the pleasing Consciousness, of having left the Publick Concerns in the Hands of One, who was truly qualify'd for so weighty an Employment. But far from finding the same Qualifications in you, I perceiv'd in their Stead nothing but a prodigious Depth of Self-Conceit, Vanity, and Low Cunning; and in short, the utmost Incapacity even for an ordinary State-

† The Famous Monsieur HERAULT, whom his Eminence had so great a Value for, that he often proposed him as the fittest Person to succeed him.

‖ His Eminence TENCIN was known by this Name, before he was advanced to the Purple.

State-Employment, much more, therefore, for the high Station you aim'd at.

Card. Tencin. *Your Eminence is too hard upon me there. The World, I dare say, does me more Justice; and unless People are wilfully blind, they must perceive what great Disadvantages I labour under, to repair your Faults, and set right the Publick Affairs, you left so embroil'd at your Death.*

Card. Fleury. If they were so, they may thank you for it. All the Miscarriages and Disappointments, I met with of late, are intirely owing to the Clogs you laid in my Way, and to the Ascendant you had already gain'd in the Council, by bringing over to your Side the P----- of the *B*-----. Since that

Time

Time I cou'd never bring my Plan to to bear; as indeed, it was morally impoſſible I ſhou'd, having for Coadjutor, a Man of ſo different a Way of Thinking with myſelf. Nay, I diſown for my Doing, or even Adviſing, whatever has been tranſacted to the Prejudice of *France*, for theſe three, or four Years paſt. If you wou'd deal ingenuouſly, you muſt confeſs, that long before your Embaſſy to *Rome*, you had been tampering with the *Duke de N*-----, the *Prince de C*-----, *Marſhal B*-----, and *Mademoiſelle de C*------, to defeat my Meaſures, and oblige me to lay aſide my pacifick Syſtem, and carry on the King's Affairs by Fire, and Sword. I am ſo well convinc'd of this Fact, that it were to no Purpoſe to pretend to deny it. A Billet dropt from *Monſieur de L*-----'s Pocket in my Antichamber at

Ruel,

Ruel, gave me the first Hint of this Cabal, which I was every Day confirm'd in the Belief of, by narrowly observing the Conduct of the Persons concern'd in it.

Card. Tencin. *Whatever Expedient, I may have fallen upon, to oblige you to alter your System of Politicks, I had, however, the Satisfaction of finding the best Heads in the Council, and the most considerable Persons in the Kingdom of my Way of Thinking. But after all, how cou'd your Eminence still hope, to keep up that Ascendant, you always boasted of, at Foreign Courts? For my Part, I think Things were come to a very great Crisis, even some Time before your Death, and you wou'd have found it impossible, to maintain the* French *Interest Abroad, without striking some great Blow, even*

allowing you had no Factions to ſtruggle with at Home, and full Liberty of managing Affairs without Controul. Pray, what wou'd have been your Conduct, with Regard to the Engliſh, *for Example? Or, how comes it our Nation has not yet reap'd the Benefit of their Rupture with* Spain, *as you ſeem'd ſo poſitive of, at firſt?*

Card. Fleury. If we have got no Advantage by it, 'tis becauſe we appear'd too partial for the Latter. 'Tis well known, that when War broke out between thoſe two Nations, my Opinion was, the King our Maſter ſhou'd confine himſelf to the ſtricteſt Neutrality, and hold an even Ballance between the two Contending Parties; and 'twas only on this Suppoſition, that I grounded my Hopes of an immenſe Profit ariſing to

His Majeſty from that War. All your Faction declar'd openly againſt this wholſome Advice; the King ſuffer'd himſelf to be over-ruled by them, and determin'd, notwithſtanding all I cou'd do, to ſend a powerful Squadron to the *Weſt Indies*, to the Relief of the *Spaniards*. The Conſequences were ſuch, as I dreaded: We grew thereby obnoxious to the *Britiſh* Nation; and tho' by the Influence, I had over ſome great Man amongſt them, I ſtill retain'd ſome Credit there; yet the Generality of the Nation was ſo exaſperated at this inconſiderate Step, that I gave over all Hopes of reaping thoſe Advantages, I was ſo ſure of, at the Commencement of the War. The Court of *London* refus'd flatly our Mediation, and began to ſuſpect even our moſt innocent Actions. --- Yet wou'd it have been very happy for

France, had I experienc'd the too fatal Prevalency of your Cabal, in this ſingle Inſtance only, however detrimental it might be to the King's Affairs. But alas! No ſooner had you gain'd one *Victory*, as you call'd it, but you allow'd yourſelves no Reſt, till you had confirm'd it by other Advantages, far more prejudicial to our Country. At the Demiſe of the Late Emperor, I flatter'd myſelf with the Hopes of executing the Favourite Scheme, I had been many Years preparing, of effectually deſtroying the Houſe of *Auſtria*, by diſmembring, and parcelling out, little by little, its large, and extenſive Dominions. But I was far from intending, that *France* ſhou'd be principally concern'd in bringing this about, at the Beginning at leaſt. Foreign Princes, under our Direction, were to be the Chief Inſtruments for pro-

promoting my Deſign; and my ſole Buſineſs was to perſuade, and encourage them to lay Claim to ſuch Parts of the Emperor's Succeſſion, as were moſt at their Conveniency. In Purſuance of this Plan, the King of *Pruſia* (who, by the Bye, let Himſelf be perſuaded to yield up his Right to *Bergues* and *Juliers*, on Condition of being ſupported in his Pretenſions on *Sileſia*;) was put in Mind of an Old Claim to this laſt Province; and effecting accordingly the Conqueſt of it, led the Way for the Reſt of the Pretenders, to come in for their Share. The Elector of *Bavaria* wanted no other Encouragement, for making a ſtout Puſh for *Bohemia* and *Auſtria*, but a round Sum to defray ſome Part of the Expences of the War, which I accordingly took Care to have remitted to him. The *Queen of Spain* invaded (tho' in

my

my Opinion, too inconſiderately) *Italy*. The Elector of *Saxony*, deſirous of ſharing the Spoils of our formidable Foe, appear'd next in the Liſts, and ſent an Army into *Moravia*. In ſhort, the Storm look'd very black, and ſeem'd to menace the total Deſtruction of the *Arch-Dutcheſs*, and with Her of all the Houſe of *Auſtria*.

But here again, the Evil Genius of *France* nipp'd in the Bud all this promiſing Harveſt of Hopes; and your Faction was the accurs'd Inſtrument in his Hand, for occaſioning the greateſt Detriment to our Sovereign's Affairs. You forc'd me to make further Advances, than I propos'd at firſt, and than were conſiſtent with our Intereſt. Nothing wou'd ſerve you, but we muſt give a Head to the *Germanick Body*, and by

in-

infringing its Rights and Priviledges, bid open Defiance to all *Europe*. Nay more than that, an Army muſt be ſent to bully the E------- of *H*------- into a Neutrality, and giving His Vote to His Electoral Highneſs of *Bavaria*'s Election to the Imperial Throne. The Conſequences of which laſt Meaſures were, the Incenſing that Prince to ſuch a Degree, that He will never be appeas'd, I am afraid, but with the Ruin of the Grand Syſtem. Generals, very unequal to the Exigency of Affairs, were ſet at the Head of our Armies in *Germany*, and ſuch Rules of Conduct were preſcrib'd to them, as ſoon diſguſted the *King of Pruſſia*, who, tho' very ready at firſt to come into the League, having compaſs'd his Ends, ſlipp'd out of the Nooſe in Time, and left us in the Lurch. Out of a falſe Preſumption of being

ſtrong

ſtrong enough, you ſlighted too much the *King of Poland*, who began to ſmell out the Bait, and not only follow'd His *Pruſſian Majeſty*'s Example, but from an Ally, is like to become our Foe. ---- What a ſad, melancholy Scene muſt not all this be to me, who have conſecrated all my Life, and ſpar'd neither Labour, nor Toil, to promote the King's Intereſt? What a cutting Mortification, after having open'd a ſure Way to *Univerſal Monarchy*, to ſee the *Houſe of Bourbon* depriv'd, by a giddy, headſtrong Faction, of the Fruits of my twenty Years ſucceſsful Adminiſtration?

Card. Tencin. *However mortifying it may be to you, to ſee other Meaſures purſu'd, than thoſe you have been ſo fooliſhly fond of, as the Nation will be never the worſe for that Step, I don't think they*

will

will take it ſo much to Heart. ------ *But as you ſeem ſo much to harp upon my forming Factions, and Cabals againſt you, I muſt tell you once for all, upon the Word of a Cardinal, that I never took up Arms againſt you, but in my own Defence. Self-Preſervation, the firſt and greateſt Law of Nature, bid me be upon my Guard againſt a Miniſter, whom I had no Reaſon to believe to be my Friend. I ſuppoſe you have not forgot a certain Speech, you made to* M. de C------ *at his Setting out for* P-----, *That* the Archbiſhop of *Lyons* was too aſpiring, *and*, that tho' a Fool was not always to be taken Notice of, yet a Perſon in your Station ought to ſuſpect every Body; *and* that you wou'd clip the Gentleman's Wings. *I own I dreaded poor* * Chauvelin's *Fate, which,*

* This Gentleman, a great Stickler for the Spaniſh Intereſt, having been too buſy in Forming a Party a-

gainſt

no Doubt, wou'd have been mine, had you not ſeen me ſupported by a powerful Faction, I took Care to form before it was too late.

Card. Fleury. Ah! Unhappy Man; it cou'd never have been too late for the Publick Good.

Card. Tencin. *But, if I may be allow'd to judge of your Eminency's Diſpoſition by that Speech, it might have ſoon prov'd ſo for me.*

Card. Fleury. An ingenious Confeſſion, upon my Word! To gratify your Revenge, you don't ſcruple to ſacrifice the Intereſt of your Maſter; and to ſup-

port

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gainſt Cardinal FLEURY, incurr'd His Eminence's Diſpleaſure, who took away the Seals from him, and confin'd him in the Caſtle of Vincennes.

port one wrong Step, you are reſolv'd to purſue Schemes, which have nothing to recommend them, but their being diametrically oppoſite to mine. Fine Principles, indeed! and worthy of ſo able a Stateſman as Cardinal *Tencin*.

Card. Tencin. *No more of your Perſonal Reflections, dear Ghoſt. I know my own Worth, and have as good a Right to extol my Meaſures, as you may have to depreciate them. The World, thank God, does not ſee through your Eyes; or elſe I ſhou'd come poorly off indeed. The Continuing of your pacifick Syſtem wou'd have been the Ruin of our Nation. Nothing but War can ſupport the Honour, Intereſt, and Glory of* France; *without it we ſhall never be able to advance one Step further. Negociations, and ſecret Intriegues protract Things to a prodigious*

Length; whereas one bold Stroke does often decide the Difference at once. Of all the Nations in Europe, *we are allow'd to be the ſtrongeſt in Land-Forces; why then ſhou'd we be afraid to employ them? or rather, why ſhou'd we let them rot in Sloth, and Effeminacy? Of all Inconveniences attending on a long uninterrupted Peace, none is more prejudicial to a People, than the enervating the Soldiers; and War is neceſſary was it only to keep up their martial Ardour, and preſerve a Series of ſkilful Generals, who only become ſo by Experience. War will always ſuit our* Conſtitution *better, than any other Method, that can be purſu'd; and when a* French Miniſtry *follows any other Courſe, they can never hope to bring their Deſigns to bear.*

Card

Card. Fleury. How comes it then, that during my Adminiſtration I have kept the Kingdom in Peace, more than any other of my Predeceſſors, and yet had the Satisfaction to ſee every Thing proſper in my Hands; Trade flouriſh'd, the King's Power and Intereſt encreaſed every where, his Treaſury was always full, and immenſe Sums were added to his Revenue? 'Tis true, in the Midſt of all this Peace and Tranquility, I was not wholly neglectful of War, being ſure that the ſafeſt Way to avoid the Misfortune of being reduc'd to make it, is to be always ready for it. I never wou'd have Recourſe to Arms, as long as there was Room left for gentler Methods; but when an open Rupture with the Emperor was become unavoidable, I ſhow'd myſelf, as fit to be at the Head of Affairs in Time of War, as in

the

the moſt profound Peace. I did not raſhly involve the King into a War, whoſe Burthen might lye entirely upon him. I made it my Buſineſs to obtain the Aſſiſtance of powerful Allies, who might bear ſome Part of it, and took Care not to diſguſt them, as long as we ſtood in Need of their Concurrence. Two Kings join'd with us againſt the Common Foe. By Money, and Intreiguing, I prevented the Succours, he might have expected from his Allies. I did not boaſt of going to give Laws to him on the Ramparts of his Capital; I only took Care to repreſent him too powerful; and proteſted we took up Arms only to prevent his becoming the Tyrant of *Europe*, and to keep the Ballance of Power in a juſt Equilibrium. His Prime M------- was none of my Enemy: I us'd all my Endeavours to

keep

keep up this Friendſhip, and thereby got acquainted with all his Deſigns, Time enough to fruſtrate their Effects. Scarce any Cabinet in *Europe* was Proof againſt a Golden Shower of *Piſtoles*. Spies inform'd me of whatever paſſed in Foreign Countries. Generals were brought into our Intereſt; and, in ſhort, every Thing concurr'd, to make me venture on a Step, the Succeſs of which I was ſure of. What were the Conſequences? I wreſted two Kingdoms from the Houſe of *Auſtria*; and *Lorrain*, which all our Kings have had a wiſhful Eye on, without having ever been able to obtain a ſtable Poſſeſſion of it, was annex'd in the Days of *Lewis the XVth* to the Crown of *France*. Theſe are *Matters of Fact*, and which no Body can deny to have been the Fruits of my Adminiſtration.

Card.

Card. Tencin. *Give me Leave to recollect ſome other* Matter of Fact *(which you might perhaps paſs by) which will leave to Poſterity a no leſs* Laſting Memorial *of your Eminency's* Adminiſtration. *Pray, Sir, who kindled the War in the* North? *Is it not to* Cardinal Fleury, *we are oblig'd for the Rupture between* Ruſſia *and* Sweden, *which has put us to more Expences, than any other Step, that was ever undertaken by any Nation, and has at laſt entirely ruin'd the* French *Credit, and Influence in that Part of the World?*

Card. Fleury. I am far from being aſham'd, to own any Step I have ever taken in the Management of the Publick Affairs. That War was wholly of my Contrivance, and Promoting: If it has ſucceeded but indifferently, that's no

no Argument againſt the Goodneſs of the Scheme: Its miſcarrying muſt be imputed, in ſome Meaſure, to croſs Accidents; which, it being impoſſible for human Prudence to foreſee, or human Power to avert, cou'd not be provided againſt; but, chiefly, to the not following the Plan I had at firſt laid down: *Ruſſia*, beſides her conſtant thwarting all my Deſigns in the *North*, was the moſt powerful Ally the Houſe of *Auſtria* cou'd boaſt of; I therefore uſed my beſt Endeavours to involve the Court of *Peterſburg* into ſuch Difficulties, as might give it Employment enough for ſome Time, and put it to a vaſt Expence of Blood and Treaſure to extricate itſelf out of; making no Doubt, but that weakning the *Ruſſian* Empire wou'd be a great Step, towards effecting the Deſtruction of the *Other*, as it wou'd

be depriv'd of the powerful Succours, it can expect from thence. The Papers found on * *Sinclair* diſcover'd moſt Part of the Plot, before it was ripe for Execution; ſo that the Court of *Peterſburg* being aware of the Storm, loſt no Time in putting itſelf in a Condition not to fear the *Swedes*, who were ſoon convinc'd, they were no longer a Match for the *Ruſſians*. Every Thing afterwards went croſs, and oblig'd me to remit prodigious Sums to *Stockholm*, to keep the Miniſtry in our Intereſt, and to help them to go on with a War, which prov'd ſo unſucceſsful. At laſt, one

* This unfortunate Nobleman was kill'd, a little While before the breaking out of the War, in his Way to Conſtantinople, whither he was ſent by the Swedes; and his Diſpatches taken from him. This Murder was ſuppoſed to have been done by ſome Ruſſian Soldiers, in Purſuance to Orders they had receiv'd from above.

one ill Succeſs being every Day attended by another, to ſave *France* further Charges, and that we might reap ſome Benefit from the great Expences, we had already been at, I had Recourſe to a Project truly great, and noble; that was, the Kindling a Civil War in the Heart of *Ruſſia*; hoping to make thereby, at leaſt, a powerful Diverſion in Favour of our Friends the *Swedes*; and perhaps, to produce an Alteration in the Government, which might give a happy Turn to the Affairs of the Common Cauſe, and effectually anſwer the main Deſign, I had in View by this War. This Project ſucceeded even beyond my Expectation. One Day determin'd the Fate of *Ruſſia*, and I myſelf ſaw, with Aſtoniſhment, a new Miſtreſs given to that potent Empire, with as much Facility, and in as little Time, as wou'd be re-

quir'd to remove a † *Garde des Sceaux* here.

Card. Tencin. *Our Affairs were never the better for that Alteration. The New* Czarina *did not ſeem to favour us more than her Predeceſſors, and proves at laſt a moſt irreconcileable Foe: And all we have gain'd by this ſo wiſely contriv'd* Northern *War, has been to render us odious at both Courts, and has irretrievably ruin'd our Influence there. Theſe are* Advantages, *which I wou'd not be proud of procuring to our Nation.*

Card. Fleury. Yet your Eminence has had more Share in procuring theſe *Advantages*, as you term them, than you will be willing to own.

Card.

† A Keeper of the Great Seal.

Card. Tencin. *You, Sir, however are not averſe to father your* Blunders *on Others. Your Eminence muſt excuſe me,* I can't flatter you at preſent, and muſt call Things by their own Names.

Card. Fleury. You want to pay me in my own Coin, I ſee; but your ſhifting the Argument ſhall not make me forget, I am upon proving, *That I am chiefly beholden to you, and to your Faction, for the miſcarrying of my* Northern *Scheme.* -------- When you thought the new Alterations in *R*---- had not brought any Change in our Affairs, and that the C----t of *P*---- did not enter as openly into our Meaſures as you cou'd wiſh; but on the contrary, that it carried on vigorouſly the War againſt our Allies, inſtead of yielding to them the Advantages, they had been flatter'd with, when

enter'd into my Meaſures; your whole Cabal headed by *Monſieur de B*----- took immediately Fire, and launch'd out into bitter Reflections, on the Ingratitude of a Certain Princeſs, who, in your Opinion, had quite forgot who ſhe was beholden to for her Crown; tho' all the Steps that Court had taken, and which you pretended to be ſo much diſguſted at, were in Purſuance to my Plan, and Advice, to ſave Appearances, and dazzle the Eyes of the Publick. Thereupon peremptory Orders were ſent to *Monſieur de C*----, to ſpeak in a magiſterial Tone, and repreſent in ſtrong Terms, the Obligations that Princeſs lay under to *France*; and even to uſe Threats, in Caſe our Expectations were not ſpeedily anſwer'd. The Reſult of this wiſe Proceeding was, the intire Alienating that Court *from*, and its ſhaking off all Manner of Depen-

dence

dence *upon* us. War was carried on in Earneſt; our Mediation was refus'd; and the *Engliſh*, taking the Advantage of this Difference, roſe upon our Ruins, and cut us intirely out. Thus by one inconſiderate Step, my Meaſures were over-turn'd, and our Haughtineſs loſt us the Advantages, which we wou'd have been ſure of, had we uſed gentler Methods.

Card. Tencin. *I deny my Intermedding in that Affair, or having been in any wiſe acceſſary to it.*

Card. Fleury. You will not perhaps be ſo poſitive, when I have told you, that poor *D' A*----- inform'd me, but this Morning, of all the Steps you made in that very Affair, and by whom this fine Speech, *Tho' we have rais'd you on*

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the Throne, We have it ſtill in our Power, to reduce you to your former private Condition; was inſerted in the New Inſtructions ſent to our Embaſſador. Theſe few Words, Sir, did the Buſineſs; and coſt *France* upwards of Six Millions of Money.

Card. Tencin. *Your Eminence, I ſee, will make it out ſome Way, or other. You was never at a Loſs for ſome Shift, whilſt amongſt us, and had always a Back-Door to come out at; and, I perceive, you are never the worſe in that Reſpect, for your Converſation with the Shades. But, if you can, pray oblige me with ſome other* Blunder *of my Contriving, or Occaſioning. I ſhou'd be glad to hear at once all you have to alledge againſt me; that I may be free from your Viſits for the Future.*

Card.

Card. Fleury. You ſet me too great a Taſk; and I am afraid, that was I to comply with your Requeſt, I ſhou'd take up too much of that Time, you ſay is ſo precious to you at preſent: I ſhall, therefore, only ſtick to what I have advanc'd, and go on with comparing the Fruits of my Adminiſtration, with the ill Succeſſes that have attended the Beginning of yours; thence all the World may ſee, who has purſu'd the ſafeſt, and moſt advantageous Schemes. Give me, therefore, Leave to put the Queſtion once more to you. *Whence? or how comes it to paſs, that whilſt the Management of the Publick Affairs was ſolely, and only in my Hands, I kept in Awe the major Part of the Courts in* Europe, *and prevented the reſt from oppoſing my Meaſures?* To what muſt it be attributed, that my Schemes never

fail'd of Succeſs then, and that ſuch vaſt Advantages accru'd thereby to the Kingdom? I never lik'd the *Engliſh* more than you, tho' I did not ſo much deſpiſe their Power; nay, I own I dreaded it; knowing that Nation to be in a Capacity of defeating my Syſtem, by ruining all our Trade, the Promoting of which has been one of my chiefeſt Aims, as it is the ſureſt, and ſhorteſt Way for gaining that Superiority over them at Sea, which they have always had over us: Yet I was far from coming to a Rupture with them, being throughly perſuaded, that an *Engliſh War* wou'd be the Bane, and Ruin of *France*. I confin'd myſelf to Stratagems, Intriegues, and Negociations: Some Sums of Money opportunely ſcatter'd Abroad, and able Agents artfully employ'd, ſoon cut them out every Where; their Influence de-

decreaſed at every Court; and four Years ago the *Engliſh* cou'd not boaſt of one Ally, they might depend on. -----

The *Spaniards*, at my Perſuaſion, interrupted their Commerce in *America*; and had they gone prudently to Work, and not run into ſuch Lengths at Once, I ſhou'd have ſoon reap'd the Benefit of that Nation's Diſtreſs. ---

By Under-ſelling them in all the Markets in *Turky*, I was on the Point of ruining their *Levant* Trade. ----

I enter'd upon another Scheme, for effectually deſtroying their Commerce in *Italy*: By ſeizing on *Corſica*, whoſe Troubles I fomented under-hand; I hop'd to enjoy the Conveniency of an Iſland, ſo well ſituated for my Purpoſe; and by craftily obtaining ſome Part of

the *Auſtrian* Dominions in *Italy* (which I wou'd ſoon have done) to deprive both them, and all other Nations, from any Intercourſe with that rich Country; which I ſhou'd have afterwards taken Care to put the *Houſe of Bourbon* in ſole Poſſeſſion of. ----- The *Queen of Spain*'s impetuous Temper, and her Earneſtneſs to ſee her Son immediately acknowledg'd *Sovereign of Italy*, diſcover'd the beſt Part of my Project, before I had brought it to Maturity, and put me under a great Deal of Difficulties. The *Court of Madrid* wou'd have the young Prince ſettled there by Force of Arms, and nothing wou'd ſerve Her Majeſty's Turn, but the *Infant*'s immediately, and openly taking Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Lombardy*. Every Body at preſent knows, that long before the Emperor's Death, ſhe wanted to draw us into her violent

Mea-

Meaſures. I did not think it conſiſtent with the King's Intereſt to yield to her Requeſt, and upon that Account incur'd that Princeſs's Diſpleaſure. She left no Stone unturn'd, to engage the King, my good Maſter, to remove me from His Councils. *Chauvelin* was mad enough to join with her: By means of the *Abbè de V*------ I diſcover'd the Cabal, Time enough, to defeat their Meaſures; and it coſt the *Keeper of the Seals* his Liberty. -----

However, at the Emperor's Death, the Queen renew'd her importunate Repreſentations, a ſtronger Faction was form'd in her Favour, and the *Infant's* Army appear'd on the Frontiers. My Credit was ſtill ſtrong enough, to engage the King to refuſe him Paſſage at firſt; but for Fear of exaſperating too much

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the *Court of Madrid*, I consented at last to his passing thorow the *Southern* Provinces into *Savoy*; fully resolv'd, however, as this Expedition was undertaken, not only against my Advice, but even in direct Opposition to my Measures, to let the *Court of Spain* extricate itself out of it, as well as it cou'd, without any of our Assistance. A Resolution, which in Spite of all your Endeavours, I have kept to my Death; but have now the Mortification to see, that you are going to take a quite contrary Course: As if you were not sufficiently employ'd already, in defending the Frontiers of the Kingdom against those Enemies, your imprudent Behaviour has render'd irreconcileable, but must yet help a Foreign Prince with the best Troops of the Kingdom, to go on with an almost impracticable Enterprize.

Card.

Card. Tencin. *As to the* Poſſibility, *or* Impoſſibility *of the Enterprize, I ſhall not take your Word for it. I know what is to be done, to remove the Difficulties that may retard the* Infant's *Penetrating into* Italy; *and by this Diverſion I ſhall anſwer a good End, by drawing Part of the Enemy's Forces on that Side.*

Card. Fleury. Meer Chimera's, poor *Tencin!* Since the Forces, we have on this Side of *Alſace* are not ſufficient, to defend the Frontiers againſt an Enemy much ſuperiour to us; why not reinforce them with thoſe Troops you wou'd ſend to the *Infant*'s Army, where, without being of any Service to that Prince, their Loſs will be of great Detriment to us? A fine Project truly! To put a Foreign Prince in a Condition, for making Conqueſts on an inoffenſive Neighbour,

bour, the Frontiers muſt be left almoſt naked, and expos'd to an Enemy; who, when he has once forc'd his Paſſage over the *Rhine*, may penetrate into the very Heart of *France*. I allow Diverſions are often of great Service; but they are only ſo, at particular Times, and Exigencies. If we can engage a powerful Ally to make a Diverſion in our Favour, with his own Troops, that's very well. We weaken our Enemy, by drawing off Part of his Attention, and Forces, to the Defence of his own Country; and ſuch a Conduct has often ſav'd Kingdoms and Empires, from the Brink of Ruin. But whilſt we are unable to defend our Frontiers, which are in the utmoſt Danger, to drain the Kingdom, in Order to help an Ally to make a Diverſion on a Side, where we have nothing to fear, is meer Madneſs.

Card.

Card. Tencin. *Your Eminency's great Concern for your Country, or rather your prodigious Inveteracy against any Measures, but your own, magnifies every small Inconvenience, to a certain Ruin. You shall never perſuade me, that we are ſo much in Danger of an Invaſion, on the Side of* Lorrain, *and* Alſace. *The* Allies *may do their worſt. I'll find them Work enough, and Troops ſufficient to ſend them all back again into their own Country. We are not driven to ſuch Extremities, as you wou'd imagine. The King has Reſources enough, and I can find Means to raiſe Money, and new Armies, to protract the War to ſo great a Length, that our Enemies will be ſoon weary of the Expences of it, and ſhall oblige them at laſt, to* make a Peace on my own Terms. *No Matter whether* Our Emperor *ſtands by us, or no. His preſent*

low Circumſtances, make it very indifferent to either Party, on what Side ſoever he may incline. That we are yet powerful enough to do all this, the whole World may ſee, ſince we dare defy even thoſe Potentates, who have not yet openly declar'd againſt us. M. Noailles *has made nothing of attacking the Combin'd Army, tho' headed by that very* Monarch, *you wus ſo afraid of Incenſing. We are repairing* Dunkirk, *in open Defiance of the* Engliſh, *and let them declare War againſt us if they dare.*

Card Fleury. Whenever that happens, within this Century, it will always be too ſoon for *France.*

Card. Tencin. *I can't think ſo.* Dunkirk, *and our Privateers, will bring Money enough into the King's Treaſury, and*

will

will check that Nation's Pride, and Arrogance, by interrupting their Trade.

Card. Fleury. You mean, that an *Engliſh War* will interrupt their Commerce; but will utterly deſtroy ours, and with it falls likewiſe all our Naval Power. If that Nation takes proper Methods, what can our Privateers do to their Trade? Some Ships of War in the Chaps of the Channel, to conduct their *Merchant Men* ſafe to their reſpective Harbours, and to hinder our Barks from getting into the Ocean, will effectually prevent the Benefit, you pretend to reap by the Prizes. The *Engliſh* have at preſent in the *Mediterranean* a Fleet, ſufficient to protect their Trade in thoſe Parts, and to act offenſively at the ſame Time; and I don't ſee that a War with us, will

put them to more Expences, than they are at now. Whereas not one of our Ships muſt dare to ſtir out of Port. The *Men of War* they will take Care to ſtation in the *Chaps of the Channel*, will deprive us of all Manner of Communication with our Colonies; and their Naval Force in the *Mediterranean* is ſufficient, to reduce to Aſhes our beſt Harbours. Then Adieu to all thoſe Hopes, I once conceiv'd, of raiſing our Navy to ſuch a Pitch, as to defy all Antagoniſts. The Only Queſtion is, *Whether we can beat them at Sea?* Till we have that Superiory, 'tis *Madneſs*, 'tis *Certain Ruin*, to come to a Rupture with them.

Card. Tencin *You'l get nothing by arguing with me: I ſhall never be of your Opinion in that Reſpect. The* French *muſt ſtand in Awe of ſo inconſiderable a*

Nation as England! *A Fine, Likely Story indeed; and eſpecially to come from the Mouth of a* French Miniſter! *Beſides, the E----- of H------ is grown ſo haughty, and menacing of Late, that it wou'd be* Cowardice, damn'd Cowardice, *in* France *not to reſent it; and reſent it we will, were the Ruin of the whole Kingdom to be the Conſequences.*

Card. Fleury. Leſs Fire, and more Command of Temper, wou'd become a Man in your Station a great Deal better. I ſhall always have a poor Opinion of a Stateſman, who cannot put up with a perſonal Grudge. Such a Perſon will not ſcruple, to ſacrifice the Publick, and his Maſter's Intereſts to revenge himſelf, as, I ſee, is the Caſe with your Eminence. Becauſe you have a particular Spite againſt the *Britiſh* King,

you

you muſt riſk the whole Kingdom in Defence of your Quarrel: For I wou'd not have you think, that I am ignorant of the true Reaſon of your declaring yourſelf ſo open, ſo irreconcileable, and ſo mortal an Enemy to that Prince, that 'tis leſs out of a tender Concern for the Honour, and Intereſt of our Maſter, than becauſe I oppoſed your Promotion to the HAT, merely, as you thought, to oblige the *Court of* LONDON; which was offended at a Subject's of *France* being nominated to the Dignity of Cardinal by the *Chevalier*; and I am likewiſe very well acquainted with your Engagements with this *laſt mention'd Perſon.*

Card. Tencin. *Since your Eminency deals ſo much in Secret Intelligencies, give me likewiſe Leave to aſſure you, that*

that I am well inform'd, that 'twas leſs out of a Deſire of removing all Cauſes of Complaint from that Court, than out of an ill-natured Spite towards me, that you ſo ſtrenuouſly oppos'd my Nomination; at leaſt, I have a Letter by me, from the Duke de St. A------, *which ſays as much.*

Card. Fleury. Had my Oppoſition in that Affair met with Succeſs, I ſhou'd value myſelf as much upon that, as the Gaining a Kingdom to the Nation: For you wou'd never have been able to prejudice ſo much the King's Affairs, as you have done all along, and will never ceaſe doing, till he puts it out of your Power; and whenever that happens, you will not have the pleaſing Satisfaction of ſaying, without offending the moſt ſtrict Veracity, that

You have minded the King's, and the Nation's Welfare, more than your own private Concerns; an Honour and Glory, which my moſt inveterate Enemies cannot rob me of. I have labour'd hard, waded thorough thick, and thin, ſpar'd neither Toil, nor Fatigue, to compaſs the Good of the Kingdom. During a long Adminiſtration, I have had the Pleaſure of ſeeing every Thing ſucceed to my Wiſh, all my Endeavours crown'd with Succeſs, and have nothing to reproach me with, in that Reſpect. Had I but ſerv'd my God, as faithfully, as I have done my King, and minded the Concerns of my Soul, as much, as thoſe of the Nation, I ſhou'd have nothing more to wiſh for. *France* will ſoon regret my Loſs, and find that it were much better the Management of the Publick Affairs had

ſtill

ſtill remain'd in the ſole Hands of a *Super-annuated Old Woman*, as you was pleaſed to call me, than to be truſted to a giddy turbulent Faction, whoſe Views, and Intereſts are ſo inconſiſtent with the Good of the Kingdom.

You deſire *to be free from my Viſits for the Future*; you muſt not, therefore, take it amiſs, if I put it Home to you now. -------

With what a Scene of Miſery is not your Adminiſtration uſher'd in? What an Occaſion of Joy, and Triumph to our Foes? Can any *French* Man, who has the leaſt Tenderneſs for his Country, look upon its preſent Circumſtances, and Situation, without ſhedding Tears of Blood? Let him caſt his Eyes on whatever Side he pleaſes, it will al-

ways afford him the ſame diſmal Proſpect. Our Influence, and Credit is loſt at all the Courts of *Europe* : -----

The *Engliſh*, who a few Years ago cou'd not boaſt of one *True Ally*, triumph every Where over the *French Politicks*. ------

Sweden, *Ruſſia*, and *Denmark* are in their Intereſt. -----

The King of *Sardinia* joins in the ſame Cauſe with them. -----

The *Dutch* have ſmelt us out, and follow the Torrent. -----

The *Court of Dreſden* is preparing to aſſiſt our Enemy. -----

The

The *King of Pruſſia*, whom you thought you was ſo ſure of, has groſly deceiv'd you; and can hardly truſt you, any longer, than it will ſuit his Intereſt. ------

The *Emperor*, Unfortunate Prince! in his melancholy Situation, is wavering between us, and our Foes. -----

The Young *Elector Palatine*, who ſtood indebted to *France*, on ſo many Accounts, has accepted of a Neutrality, with the reſt of the *Germanick* Body; and in ſhort, all *Europe* courts the *Allies*. -----

Spain alone ſtands by us; but only to throw her Weight of Misfortunes into our Scale; and is rather a Burthen, than a Help to us. -----

Dreadful Proſpect! How chang'd! how wretched! how alter'd is poor *France* become, in a ſhort Space of Time! No Concord, no Unanimity in your Councils; All Confuſion, and Inconſiſtencies, Factions, Cabals, and Diſcords. No Able General to head our Armies: No Troops to recruit them, and no Means to make them ſubſiſt; but by compleating the Ruin of the two Thirds of the Nation. In the mean While, a powerful, victorious, and implacable Enemy on the Frontiers, breathing nothing but Revenge, and ready to pour his Legions to the very Gates of *Paris*. -----

Theſe are Events, that have ſignalized the Beginnings of your Adminiſtration, and will tranſmit it down to Poſterity, in very black Colours:

Theſe

These are the Effects of rash, headstrong Counsels, wrong Measures, and erroneous Systems.

However You may be disgusted at whatever I propose, yet my Concern for my Dear Country, and for every individual *Frenchman* (Don't mistake me, Cardinal, I don't rank you in the Number) forces from me this Last Seasonable Advice, how to retrieve the Kingdom out of this melancholy Situation. Whether You follow my Counsel, or whether you lay it aside, I shall, however, have discharg'd my Conscience, and disclosed what I have most at Heart. ---------- *The Only Way*, ------

Here

Here a Servant coming unluckily in, to acquaint the Cardinal, that *Monſieur Orry* had brought his New Scheme, for *Augmenting the Finances*, for His Eminence to peruſe; the Apparition broke off, and vaniſh'd away.

FINIS.

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